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Commonweal

September 19, 1947

Recall Congress Now

Business View of the Ruhr

Democracy in Japan

Decentralist Experiment

Candidate Stassen

Next Week

The range and pertinence of the articles and other features scheduled for next week's issue of THE COMMONWEAL clearly indicate what subscribers derive from the magazine week in week out.

FRENCH CATHOLICS & COMMUNISM, by Robert Barrat, able young editor of *Témoignage Chrétien*, analyzes the motives of his 5,000,000 compatriots who vote Communist. Obviously so sizable a group cannot be excluded from civic life. And to combat the Communist Party, French Christians must come up with a new and better social program (than capitalism or communism), must answer the aspirations indicated by the huge Communist vote. A sound general prescription.

WORK OF THE PEOPLE, by H. A. Reinhold, author of "The Soul Afire," is an exciting tribute to the city and the archdiocese of Portland, Oregon, and a stirring account of the seventh and most successful of the national liturgical conferences held in this country to date.

MR. BEVIN AND OUR GOLD, by R. Richard Wohl: "There is no shortage of gold in the world. If anything, there is an oversupply of this soft and pretty metal. Any country . . . will find a ready seller in the U. S. Treasury for almost any amount of it, at \$35 an ounce. Mr. Bevin would probably be horrified if we took his proposal literally. Were we to ship a couple of boatloads of gold ingots to Britain . . ."

ALSO: C. G. Paulding on "Modern Painters"
George Streater on "The Brazilians"
John C. Cort on the Labor Movement

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9/19/47

The COMMONWEAL

VOLUME XLVI

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THE COMMONWEAL is indexed in the Reader's Guide, Catholic Periodical Index and Catholic Bookman. Founded by the Calvert Associates, Inc., in 1924 with Michael Williams as President and Editor.

Published weekly and copyrighted 1947 in the U.S.A. by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. Murray Hill 3-9683. Entered as second class matter February 9, 1934, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. U.S. and Canada \$6 a year, Foreign \$7. Single copies 15c.

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A Business View of the Ruhr

THE AMERICAN business community is not always wrong about everything, but it is usually a good idea to take a close look at anything that is enthusiastically supported by most of the nation's business leaders. At the moment, the business men are particularly in favor of the plan for a more productive Ruhr that was recently worked out by the United States and England. Their response to the prospect of a pre-war Ruhr has been almost as fulsome and unanimous as was their support of the Taft-Hartley Bill. In this instance, their fervor may be entirely justified. They have gone all-out for some mighty strange plans and crusades in the past, though, so it may not be a waste of time to examine the sources of their current enthusiasm for a built-up Ruhr.

One of the reasons is undoubtedly psychological; if the American business man is certain of anything at all, he is convinced of the goodness of full, humming production. He knows that things have been generally good when production has been strong and regular and, just as certainly, he knows that a falling off of production is bound to mean bad times for everybody. In any society more complicated than a handicraft world, his in-

nate feelings about production certainly come very close to the facts. It does not follow, however, that the business man's notions on the question of production are necessarily true at all times, in all situations, and in every part of the world. For example, his ideas on production may not lead to the best and most complete answer to the problem of the Ruhr.

The Ruhr, unfortunately, does not represent a situation that can be immediately rendered wholesome by a quick burst of free enterprise production. Anyone who thinks that it does—and General Clay, apparently, is one who thinks that way (In a recent issue of *Business Week* the General's approach to the German problem is described this way: "Competitive incentives are the essence of the lesson that he [General Clay] is trying to teach the employers and employees of this historically over-organized and over-cartelized economy that has licked the hand of big government for so long that it has lost the taste for competition.")—is a victim of deliberate or unconscious oversimplification.

At a glance, the business attitude toward the Ruhr would appear to be reasonable. It is obvious that if Europe is to recover from the wrenches of the war and the lost years just after it, then the Ruhr production rate must be raised to somewhere very near the pre-war level. And it is, as the business men point out, equally evident that the United States cannot continue to carry the European economy. Up to that point, the business attitude is beyond debate. The business men are to be congratulated, too, on their eagerness to supply the British and American governments with the technical knowledge that will be necessary to revive the Ruhr. But that is about all that can be said for the business case. From that point on, the bright European future that the business men expect to result from the coming wave of German production is obscured by the ominous cloud of European politics. The Ruhr is a business problem all right, but only part of the way.

It is not the style to listen to the French these days, but it is a fact that what they have to say about revived German industry makes the best sense. The French disapprove of the current British-American plan for German industry because they do not believe that it indicates sufficient awareness of German political tendencies. They also feel that the British-American plan represents an unnecessary slight to French industry.

The French attitude reflects the political side of the Ruhr problem that the business men would like to ignore. Mr. James H. McGraw, president of the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, for example, has recently suggested that we get on with the production problem and let the Germans settle the political future of the Ruhr as they see fit some five years from now. Political events, unfortu-

nately, in Germany or anyplace else, will not stand still that long. Mr. McGraw might better keep in mind what is likely to happen in France during the five years while German production is being brought to full bloom. This is what is likely to happen: the present British-American plan for the Ruhr will undermine the Ramadier Government (and any other French government of similar character) and make the way ever so much easier for increased communist control of France. Mr. McGraw might consider it perverse on the part of the French to overthrow the Ramadier Government in favor of something very close to communism merely because the British and Americans ignored the French suggestions when they were making decisions concerning the Ruhr. Nevertheless, if the British-American tendency continues in its present direction, there is a very good chance that the French will be just that perverse.

There is a way out, fortunately, and there is still time to take it. The political situation in France (and possibly in some other countries of Western Europe) can be safeguarded and production by way of the Ruhr can be achieved at the same time. The alternative is to do what the French have been suggesting all along: build up the production of French industries with coal from the Ruhr. The process may take a little longer, and the French may be a bit more difficult to deal with, but in the long run Europe will be better off, and so, probably will McGraw-Hill.

Reconvening Congress

NOW THAT it is more intensely touch and go in Western Europe we must face the situation. Collapse in Britain or France or Italy would be fatal to the American program for European rehabilitation—the only way that a sweeping of the whole Continent into the Russian orbit can be forestalled. The failure of the French harvest and of French industry to respond adequately to the measures already taken, the British coal crisis, the huge sum estimated by the delegates to Paris as needed from the United States—all these and other signs point unfailingly to revision and expansion of American aid to Europe. Need it be stated at this late hour that the possession of the whole continent by an expansionist Soviet Russia is a direct thrust at our own national security. We had better look seriously to the rehabilitation of Western Europe if we want to save our own skins.

When Congress adjourned it left the prospect of the Marshall Plan but no reserve and no continuing agency to meet the new exigencies which have arisen. The President himself is powerless to step into the breach directly. All he can do—and what he must do—is call a special session of Congress for the specific task of meeting the new crisis. If the date is set early enough this might

well mean that several Congressional committees cut short their investigations on distant shores. The evidence that is already in hand at Washington is sufficiently conclusive and the economies in question have deteriorated so sharply that there should be no need of prolonging the Congressmen's stay.

It would seem that three things must be borne in mind when the Senate and House come into session. First that this is an emergency; it will not wait. The ordinary hundred to two hundred days required to agree on appropriation for foreign aid will not do in this instance. The sums needed are not astronomical compared with the costs of war or the barrier to American prosperity which an impoverished Europe constitutes. But appropriations must be adequate to meet the need. Furthermore there must also be some sort of bipartisan committee set up to act within certain prescribed limitations—as the *New York Times* suggests. The battle for Europe unhappily persists. We have not yet reached the turning of the tide. Until the industry of the Continent is once more productive and the coordination envisaged in the Marshall Plan in full swing, the United States must be prepared to undertake assistance of a major scope. A special session of Congress soon is obviously essential.

Radio Editorials

THE ANNOUNCEMENT of Federal Communications Commission hearings on the vitally important subject of editorializing over the air immediately points to the extreme complexity of the problem. Until FM becomes almost universal for American home radios, the large networks constitute an almost absolute monopoly. Four national networks—or even three of them—having agreed to put over a certain political idea, for example, could do so with only token opposition. Although at the time of an election campaign the difficulty can be met by allotting equitable broadcasting periods to the rival candidates. When, however, it is a question of editorial opinion on a controversial public issue, no similarly effective counterbalancing device springs to mind. It might be possible to provide presentation of conflicting views on a few big questions; the difficulty lies in trying to counter the day by day comment on a whole range of related matters. If you had equal numbers of conservative and radical commentators where would the middle-of-the-roader figure in? And who is to determine by what means the political complexion of every commentator. A further difficulty is that scripts themselves are not foolproof, for pauses, intonations, accentuations and the like can give even the most uncolored-looking news broadcast a decidedly slanted impact.

In arriving at a policy in this matter it would seem that the first step is to acknowledge the lim-

itations of what can be accomplished by formal regulations. Then to make a strenuous attempt to cover all important contingencies as well as possible. Possibly it will be found that straight radio editorializing on a public issue, because of the extreme difficulty of assuring an adequate hearing for opposing views, is not consonant with the public interest. At this juncture of radio development there is a lot to be said for the principle that the broadcaster should not be an advocate (except of cleansers, beauty aids, candy bars, patent medicines and pills and syrupy entertainment). In any case the nation's broadcasters should be restrained as much as is practicable from utilizing their corner on the available wave lengths to put across their own political views.

Horse Show

PERHAPS it is impossible to go on forever thinking with your stomach or with your heart. There is the mind, after all, which is supposed to serve for something, and people make use of it in order to appear clear, logical and convincing when they put words on paper to tell others that they know the truth.

But, at times, the mind refuses—as when at the horseshow the cavalry officer from Mexico, from West Point, from St. Cyr, from Romania, collects his horse for the water jump and then, suddenly the horse refuses. The mind refuses war with Russia, refuses the police state, refuses conscription, refuses to write the manifesto for the league of conscientious objectors, refuses its contribution to the march of nickels drive to purchase an atom bomb for the International Red Cross. You lead the mind up to each of these obstacles—your hand caressing its right shoulder—so that it can see that they are not too broad, too high to jump; then you walk it back to the starting point, turn it, call on it for speed, leaning well forward, bringing your knees in tight—but when you reach the moment of decision, the second before the jump, again the mind refuses. Then, it is best, it is more honest, to depend upon the prejudices of the heart, the stomach's fears.

The Alsop brothers in the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 6, describe at great length the various stages of expenditure and invention needed before we can send destruction to any point on the earth and be ourselves destroyed by missiles launched against us from any point on the earth. For us, this article had the interest that more fortunate people who know chess find in the analysis of some master's game, but what frightened us was the fact that we were not frightened. The stomach is the seat of minor discomforts, minor fears. The mind, docile as usual to any argument, refusing the effort to choose between conflicting arguments, accepted the thesis

that if we are to defend America against all future inevitable bombs we must make them first, be able to send them farther and faster than anyone else. Only the heart protested.

We heard Secretary Forrestal speak over the radio from the "encampment" of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. We have read all the others who are asking for universal military training. And the mind was just alert enough to notice that the word universal for once meant what it said: these people accept universal military training for the universe. The mind was barely alert enough to notice that the intelligence that is building the controlled missiles of the future is still playing around with a Latin tag about preparing for war if you want peace like the infant prodigy who plays the piano and still plays with dolls. After all the wars for peace we rely now on the same remedy, out of the same fly-specked bottle, bearing the same label with the same old fashioned handwriting spelling out the Latin *si vis pacem* . . . The mind has no answer; the stomach does not care; the heart, lost in landscapes of the Russian plains, lost in the tall wheat, lost in France, in Italy, lost in Iowa, knows that there is an answer—but lies in bed listening to the hit parade.

Is the answer that which is proposed by Norman Thomas? Mr. Thomas wants America to take the lead in demanding universal military disarmament. Here again the argument against his suggested plan is so obvious. And if you do not wait for anyone else, and simply decide that you will not fight, the answer is so obvious. Disarmament, preparedness or pacifism lead nowhere. No one will disarm, everyone is preparing, there are no pacifists.

There are only a great number of meaningless explosions, in the deserts of New Mexico, in some Russian field, at sea, and even in New York City. Last night the heavy mist was low over the city reflecting the city's lights. At midnight, in my neighborhood, Italians set off petards celebrating something, and then there would be a brighter flash against the mist. Yesterday the aircraft carrier *Midway*, somewhere in the Pacific, proudly launched the German invention, the V-2 rocket, weighing twelve tons, from its deck, celebrating the first time anyone had been able to shoot it from the middle of an ocean. The rocket blew itself to pieces almost immediately but that did not spoil anything at all. Recently the Spanish town of Cadiz blew itself up, and then another Spanish town blew itself up, and, in France, a ship blew up the harbor at Brest. Perhaps the Italians in New York had a reason for making the noise; the other noises, accidental or deliberate, are sounds from a mad house—sickening to the stomach, meaningless to the mind, and heartrending.

C. G. PAULDING.

Democracy in Japan

Lafe Franklin Allen

SHORTLY AFTER the beginning of the American occupation of Japan, a US Army officer told a reporter for the *New York Times* that, "The Japanese don't know whether democracy is something you slap on your bread or apply to your hair."

Continuing in the same vein, the officer added pessimistically, "If you can play a radio to a cow, read books to it, show it colored movies, and then draw gin instead of milk, you will have democracy in Japan."

Today, two years after this gloomy prediction, Suzuki-san, Japan's man-in-the-street, has not become a full-fledged democrat in our sense of the word, even though his political acumen has been sharpened sufficiently to enable him to differentiate between butter, pomade, and democracy without any coaching from the audience. But Mr. Suzuki is on his way, and if the success he has already attained is any criterion, he will be living in a democracy before too very long.

For the purposes of this article, democracy will be defined as a system of government in which the supreme power is retained by the people. Attributes of a democracy include freedom of speech, press, and worship. The citizens of a democracy can assemble peaceably and petition the government for a redress of their grievances.

Ten months' experience as a Military Government Officer in Japan has convinced me that while many Japanese admittedly have hazy notions as to what constitutes democratic government (as do many Americans), definite progress is being made in Japan toward the establishment of government by the people. The only way in which this progress will be blocked will be by ending the occupation of Japan before our reforms have had time to jell.

The Japanese, moving with the efficiency which would have been admired by the late Joseph Goebbels, mobilized all media of information in Japan during the war. The circulation-rich Japanese press was hemmed in by rigorous censorship regulations and strict governmental control of newsprint allocations. Fed a steady diet of lies by Domei, the government's mendacious propaganda mill, the press printed only that which Japan's rulers wanted printed. The motion picture industry likewise was mobilized to glorify the privilege of sacrificing and dying for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Nor were the schools and churches overlooked by the adroit little men who ran the Japanese empire during the war. All elementary and intermediate textbooks were revised to stress Japan's beneficent rôle in East Asia. Uniform propaganda was funneled to all the Japanese schools through the centralized Education Ministry. The Religious Bodies Law strengthened state control of religion, while State Shinto was plugged at every opportunity. And if the strict wartime regulations failed to keep Suzuki-san in line, there was always the insidious Peace Preservation Act, under which he could be tossed unceremoniously into a filthy Japanese jail merely for "harboring dangerous thoughts." Patriotism, Emperor worship, tradition, and religion comprised the psychological foundation upon which Japan's highly effective propaganda program was built.

At the very outset of the occupation it was obvious that it was just as essential to disarm the Japanese mentally as it was to deprive them of the physical means of waging war. The first step in this mental disarmament program was to strike from the Japanese the chains which shackled them to their feudalistic past. Accordingly, a "Bill of Rights" directive issued by General MacArthur on October 4, 1945, ordered the removal of all restrictions on political, civil, and religious liberties. Abrogation of "thought control" laws was ordered, as was immediate abolition of the dreaded *Kempei-tai*, Japan's counterpart of the Gestapo. Freedom of the press and motion pictures was decreed, and militarists and ultra-nationalists were banned from the nation's schools.

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Early in 1946, General MacArthur issued his far-reaching purge directive, under which all public officials and politicians who bore any degree of war responsibility were relegated to private life. Labor was given the right to organize and strike in furtherance of its demands. A sweeping program of agrarian reform was laid down to "destroy the economic bondage which has enslaved the Japanese farmer to centuries of feudal oppression." An essential element of a democratic system of government is universal suffrage. The Japanese were ordered, therefore, to extend the ballot to more than twenty million Japanese women. The voting age was lowered from 25 to 20, making three million more eligible voters in this category.

The Japanese Constitution, a "gift" of Emperor Meiji in 1889, contributed nothing to hopes of democratizing Japan. This autocratic document, framed in absolute secrecy by Prince Ito, was modeled on the Prussian Constitution of Bismarck's day. The Ito Constitution emphasized the Emperor's "inherited" right to rule as had his ancestors "in lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal," and practically all governmental power was vested in the Emperor. True, there was a House of Representatives elected by the people. But hamstrung as it was by constitutional curbs on its fiscal power, and opposed by an aristocratic and conservative House of Peers, as well as by an entrenched palace guard, and a military which was wholly independent of civilian control, the lower house members were "representatives" in name only. Obviously such a set of rules had no more place in a democratic society than did an Emperor whose absolute power was based on Japan's old theocratic traditions. The whole Constitution was ordered junked and a new one substituted.

And, finally, since the people in a democracy must choose their representatives in a free and unfettered election—which the "Tojo" elections of 1942 most certainly were not—the first post-war national election for members to the Diet, Japan's legislative body, was set for April 10, 1946.

The tradition-smashing SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) directives knocked the props from under the old system of government in Japan, but that was not enough. The Japanese have always done what they were told to do, and there was no reason to think that this trait of submissiveness would give way overnight to one of aggressive and intelligent participation and leadership in community and national affairs just because we so willed it. SCAP stepped in with an ambitious program to fill the gap between the old and the new Japan. The Japanese were prodded, coaxed, scolded, and chivied along the road to democracy.

Representatives of the Japanese press were called to Radio Tokyo for periodic lectures by member of SCAP's Civil Information and Education Section on the responsibilities of a free press in a democracy. Schools were visited and inspected periodically by Military Government education officers. A high-powered education mission from the United States, headed by Dr. George D. Stoddard, now president of the University of Illinois, was imported to help the Japanese to see the errors of their educational system. Experts in agriculture, government, religion, arts and monuments, finance, and every other field in which the Japanese might have a conceivable interest or need were flown from the United States to advise and to assist our erstwhile enemies.

SCAP's plans to educate the Japanese in the ways of democracy were as thorough and as extensive as those dreamed up by the Japanese in their drive to mobilize public opinion for war. But what has been the net results of all of these directives, all of these educational programs?

Since participation in elections is one of the hallmarks of democratic responsibility, let us consider initially the first post-war Japanese election, held on April 10, 1946. The issues at stake in the selection of 466 new members to the Japanese Diet were momentous. For the first time in Japan's long history, more than twenty million women were given the right to vote. The world was watching to see if the Japanese, by their turnout at a free election, possessed the fundamental concept of the responsibilities of citizenship in a democratic society.

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From Hokkaido to Kagoshima 26,558,611 Japanese, more than thirteen million of them women, had cast their ballots by the time the polls closed on April 10. This tremendous outpouring of electors, representing the most extensive popular mandate ever given any Japanese government, indicated that the people realized the major obligation of a citizen in a democratic society. According to final official figures 72.1 percent of the eligible voters participated in the election. To those Americans who contend smugly that the Japanese are not "ready for democracy" a reminder of our own disgraceful voting records is in order. For example, in our last national election only thirty-five million persons voted, although the United States Bureau of the Census estimated that there were 91,634,472 persons 21 years of age or older in this country as of July 1, 1946. And in the vital election of 1942—eleven months after Pearl Harbor—to name an all-important war Congress, only twenty-eight million Americans cared enough about the outcome to go to the polls.

Proclaiming the election results as "gratifying beyond expectation," the English language *Nippon Times* pointed out that the really significant factor in the nationwide poll was the vigorous growth in power of parties like the Social Democrats, which had increased its Diet representation by five-and-one-half times.

"It is true that these liberal elements are still in the minority," declared the *Nippon Times*, "but they have become an influential minority whose viewpoints are bound to command attention and respect. . . . There is no question that the old order is doomed, and that the new liberal movement, though not yet in full tide, is sweeping on toward unprecedented levels."

The people of Japan on April 10, 1946, took what General MacArthur termed "the first step on the road toward the eventual creation of re-

sponsible popular government." When the General made this statement he was not talking through his brass hat.

SCAP's labor policy, which was termed "enlightened and progressive" by Kermit Eby, CIO national director of Education and Research, when Eby visited Japan last year as a member of the US Education Mission, produced a quasi-Frankenstein effect early this year when 2,400,000 government workers threatened to leave their jobs in a general strike. The paralyzing walkout, slated for midnight of January 31, was averted only by the intervention of General MacArthur, who declared that he could not permit the use of so deadly a social weapon in the present "impoverished and emaciated condition of Japan."

Despite the excesses of left-wing labor leaders, climaxed by the general strike threat of last January, the absolute freedom of Japanese labor to organize is one more indication of the personal liberty which has been accorded the Japanese under the occupation. And if the enthusiasm with which the working man of Japan has accepted this new privilege is any standard, it is a right which will not be relinquished without struggle. That labor in Japan has been free to organize and has not been afraid to put its newly-won rights to a test of strength with employers, is indicated by the 1,411 labor disputes, involving 1,152,000 workers, which took place during the first year of the American occupation. Three hundred and ninety-seven of the disputes ended in work stoppages, and 133 cases of "production control," under which the workers took over the facilities of their employers, occurred. There are today some 19,000 labor unions in Japan, claiming more than five million members.

Defending our labor policy in Japan against attacks by delegates to the last World Federation of Trade Unions' conference in Prague, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, declared significantly that at the inception of the Allied occupation there were no labor unions in Japan and today there are more than five million organized workers. "The only restriction placed upon them (the unions)," Green said, "is that strikes which would seriously cripple the occupation are forbidden. Considering the fact that Japan is still an occupied country, such a temporary restriction is understandable."

Carroll Binder, editorial editor of the Minneapolis *Tribune*, who completed a 25,000-mile journey to the Far East in the spring of 1947, wrote on his return to this country that MacArthur's aim was to get Japanese factory workers so accustomed to a decent standard of living that, when the United States withdraws, the Japanese standard will remain high. "This is perhaps the most revolutionary program ever instituted by a non-revolutionary occupying power," Binder said.

"It is being carried out with gusto by Americans who cut their trade union and political teeth in the CIO before joining General MacArthur's staff."

The *Nippon Times* carried a story last year written by Sidney B. Whipple, Scripps-Howard writer, under the caption "A Free Press—Democracy's Arsenal," a title which better describes the correlation between democracy and a free press could not have been selected. Democracy and a free press go hand-in-hand. Without one the other must perish. And how have the editors of Japan reacted to the freedom granted them by the occupation authorities? Here is what Whipple wrote:

"At the outset let me say that the Japanese press, as a whole, has shown even in these short twelve months an astonishing and gratifying advancement towards truth and freedom. Above all, I believe it has absorbed and profited by acceptance of the first tenet laid down nearly a year ago by the Supreme Commander—'news must adhere strictly to the truth.'"

★

The newly-emancipated Japanese press has been caustic as well as intelligent in its criticism of the governments of Baron Shidehara and Shigeru Yoshida and the new Socialist régime of Tetsu Katayama. It has been quick to expose any abuse of official power. Not even the one-time sacrosanct Emperor system has escaped the barbed comment of Japan's editors. Discussing the new Japanese Constitution, *Yomiuri-Hochi* told its more than one million readers that the Emperor system should be eliminated upon the death of Hirohito. *Yomiuri* said that the new Constitution granted the people sovereignty, and added, "it is an undoubted fact that the Emperor is a stain on democracy." Just as blunt was the editorial assertion of *Mainichi*, one of the giants of Japanese journalism: "We do not mean to hold the Emperor responsible for the war. However, when we see the present sad plight of the masses, who sacrificed everything to the cause of the Imperial Rescript [the rescript declaring war], we cannot but feel strange that the tremendous estates of the Imperial Household should remain unaffected."

Japan's new Constitution, under which war as a means of settling disputes with other nations is "renounced forever" went into effect in May of this year. In addition to outlawing maintenance of armed forces, the new document drastically curtails the political power of the Emperor and guarantees human rights unprecedented in Japanese history.

Before officially promulgating the Constitution, which Diet members approved after more than three months of debate, Emperor Hirohito clad

himself in a traditional silk kimono and "reported" to his ancestral gods enshrined in the imperial palace sanctuary. What Hirohito told his gods must have caused all of them from Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, on down, to spin in their pantheon. For here was a "divinely descended" Emperor renouncing his hereditary right to rule, declaring that henceforth he would derive his position as a symbol of state unity from the sovereign will of the people.

While Amaterasu and the lesser gods, along with the militarists who perpetuated the myth of tenno divinity in Japan as a means of stimulating the Japanese to worldwide conquest might look down their noses at Hirohito, Japan's little man is all for the new arrangement. From now on the representatives which he sends to the Diet will be more than rubber stamps of the various Japanese cabinets which in the past were dependent upon the favor of the Emperor and the ruling clique for continuation in office. From now on the Japanese cabinets will be responsible to the people's representatives, as indeed they should be in any system of government which holds itself to be democratic.

First tangible manifestation of the power of the people under the new Constitution came last May when Tetsu Katayama, chief of the Social Democratic Party, was named by his colleagues in the House of Representatives the first Socialist premier in Japan's history. All previous Japanese premiers were appointed by the Emperor, who fronted for the palace guard which actually made and broke Japanese governments. Katayama and all the members of his coalition cabinet were drawn from the lower house of the Diet in accordance with provisions of the new Constitution.

Also, for the first time in Japanese history prefectural governors, mayors, and village headmen were elected directly by the people last spring. In the past the prefectural governors, who were appointed by the Home Ministry, held veto power over the election of mayors by the city and town assemblies. Thus Tokyo was able to maintain its rigid control of the people down to the very lowest echelon of government.

Before any candidate for local, prefectural, or national office could run in the spring elections, he was required to obtain a clean bill of health from committees set up to weed out the militarists from government service. This was an extension of General MacArthur's purge campaign under which 186,000 exponents of militarism and ultranationalism were removed or excluded from office during the first seven months that the program was in force. Before the purge is completed it is estimated that 400,000 Japanese will be ejected or barred from potentially influential jobs.

Although Japan's agrarian reform law has

been described as the "world's best" by Wolf I. Ladejinsky, United States Department of Agriculture expert who returned to the United States some time ago after working in Japan for a year with the occupation authorities, it is yet too soon to appraise the results of the law. Under provisions of the reform program, 80 percent of Japan's tenanted land—about five million acres—will be distributed during the next two years to two million families who till the land. The tenants will be required to pay for the farms over a 30-year period. While it is also too soon to pass final judgment on SCAP's vigorous campaign to democratize the educational system of Japan, no one who has seen our program in the Japanese schools can doubt that we are definitely on the right track in this vital field.

★

George Atcheson, Jr., who until his death in a plane crash last month was chairman of the Allied Council for Japan and political adviser to General MacArthur, returned to Washington last February for consultations with his superiors in the State Department. While in this country he made a radio address to the nation, in which he asserted that Japan was in the midst of a social revolution.

"Every Japanese, even in the remotest farms and villages, is touched by the revolution," Atcheson said. "New life for the downtrodden farmers, the rise of new parties and leaders, a press set free, participation in elections of recently enfranchised men and women, the new Constitution, the resurgence of the long oppressed labor movement—all these attest to progressive trends of incalculable significance."

Atcheson declared that the Japanese, in general, are genuinely interested in learning what democracy is and achieving it for their country.

"If they can look forward to reasonable economic security, a fair living as well as a free political life, there is good prospect that the objectives of the occupation can be achieved," he said.

This "if" of Atcheson's is one that Americans interested in establishing a democratic bulwark in the Pacific cannot afford to ignore. The area suitable for agriculture in Japan—which represents about 16 percent of the country's total land area—is simply too small to raise more than 80 to 85 percent of the food the nation must have in order to live. Mr. Ladejinsky, the Department of Agriculture expert quoted earlier, estimates that in the future about two million tons of food must be imported annually to feed the Japanese.

"She cannot increase her yields per acre," Ladejinsky said. "These are already about double those that American farmers get and the soil is losing its fertility."

This means that Japan must re-establish her

manufacturing industry which in turn implies a necessity on the part of Japan's former enemies to forswear greed in the matter of reparations. It also means that Japan must have buyers for her industrial products and that selfish manufacturers of other countries must not be permitted to bar world markets to Japanese goods. We cannot lose sight of the fact that Japan must import food to feed her seventy-eight million inhabitants. But she must export her manufactured goods to pay for this food. Unless we give Japan an honest chance to regain her footing economically, our present efforts to democratize the nation represent just so much **wasted effort**.

Admittedly, the Japanese have been guilty of excesses in the name of democracy. Laborers have seized factories under the guise of being democrats. Mass demonstrations, openly led by communists, were becoming more and more unruly until General MacArthur was forced to issue a warning that "the physical violence which undisciplined elements are now beginning to practice will not be permitted to continue." The general strike of 2,400,000 government workers, scheduled with the avowed goal of overthrowing the cabinet of Premier Shigeru Yoshida, was another example of undemocratic behavior. These excesses, however, are the exception to and not the rule. They are excesses of a newly liberated people, taking the first wobbly, uncertain steps toward establishment of freedom and equality.

It is difficult to find a more hopeful statement relative to our chances of democratizing the Japanese than that voiced by Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who returned to this country last June following an inspection trip to Japan and Korea. Baldwin, who has been defending the civil rights of revolutionaries of all complexions for the past thirty years, termed the occupation of Japan "the greatest revolution I have ever seen." "Japan is an uplifting experience," he declared. "It is a crusade."

Baldwin pointed out that Korea reacts to American occupation like a conquered country, while Japan reacts like a liberated country. "As a result," he said, "there is little danger that democracy in Japan will be overcome by a dictatorship of the Left or Right, while there is a definite possibility of just that in Korea."

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Since my own return from Japan I have been impressed by the fact that most Americans with whom I have talked, who have any thoughts whatsoever about democratizing the Japanese, are convinced that we cannot teach an old dog new tricks. They contend that as soon as we pull out of the Far East off will come the "so sorry" mask of the pseudo-democrats of Japan, revealing the ugly countenance of the militarists and the ultra-nationalists. To these views I am violently opposed. It is not reasonable to believe that the Japanese, now that they have experienced freedom of speech and thought, will again permit themselves to be gagged by an oppressive Peace Preservation Act. It is not reasonable to believe that the Japanese, the view of their war-ravaged homeland serving as a bitter reminder of the folly of war, will again wear the yoke of the militarists. It is not reasonable to believe that the Japanese, now that they have named their own public servants, will again permit this choice to be made for them by oligarchs in Tokyo.

Whatever else may be their faults, the Japanese are an intelligent people and they have learned much since the beginning of the occupation of their home islands. The only way the Japanese could be made to turn backwards would be to obliterate the knowledge which they have learned at the high price of war and occupation. And as Tom Paine trenchantly observed, it has never yet been discovered how to make man unknow his knowledge or unthink his thoughts. Therein lies the basis of hope for democratizing Japan.

Decentralist Experiment

Walter J. Marx

A YEAR AGO last May as I prepared to return to civilian life, THE COMMONWEAL printed a summary of my individual approach to the housing problem. Baffled by the prohibitive cost of houses, unwilling to subject my children to the hazards of an urban existence, and convinced ideologically of the advantages of the decentralist ideals through long association

with the *Catholic Worker* movement and the British distributists, I saw as the only solution to my personal problem of finding a house for my family the purchase of a piece of land well outside of the city and the construction of some sort of a shelter with my own hands.

I found 112 acres of land although I had been searching for five or ten. I have a quarter-mile

of waterfront on an estuary of Chesapeake Bay and there is just enough water in my private harbor to float the old fourteen-ton sloop that was our home last summer. From Labor Day to Armistice Day, working only on week-ends and with no one to help me, I built a small cabin, adequate for the storage of our belongings and for living purposes until this fall. The original cost was around four hundred dollars. A fourth little Marx arrived this spring, Stephanie, so we are a little crowded but I can easily add on a room or two by winter.

Just how successful has our experiment in individual decentralism been? Have we attained all those values and benefits the more ardent proponents of decentralism promise? It seems to me that a sober appraisal of our experiences at this point may be of value to other families thinking of retreating to the country, or to veterans still desperately seeking a shelter for their families.

First, one cannot generalize from one's own experiences. My personal attitude toward housing is that of Thoreau: a large tool box of my own large enough for me to crawl into at night would be preferable to a comfortable apartment which ate up a third of my salary. Understandably, my wife does not go quite so far. But she is willing to compromise to the extent of going without many conveniences because of the vision she has of the future. I must repeat what other decentralists have said before, that the wife is really the cornerstone of the whole decentralist structure. She after all is at the homestead more or less continuously. If she is not previously convinced ideologically of the decentralist approach she will be unhappy when faced with the loneliness of rural living and the frightening amount of work needed before one can afford conveniences such as electricity and running water. Many of the advantages of an economic sort inherent in the decentralized homestead cannot be developed unless the wife is willing and able to take on various chores in addition to housekeeping.

Just as I had planned in my COMMONWEAL article, we obtained a home of our own, little more than a shanty, but tight and subject to steady improvement as time and money permit, for a nominal outlay of cash and week-end labor. The garden, which is so emphasized by decentralists, has been largely a failure, partially due to my own inexperience, the heavy rains of the spring, the fact that my soil has not been worked for four years, and finally because we were not on hand to take care of it in its early crucial stages. Little Stephanie arrived just when Phyllis should have been in the garden weeding. I planted my potatoes one week-end wearing rubber boots and standing in mud. They did come up, however, and with a vast amount of hand-labor we have

brought them to maturity, about the only crop we shall get from the garden. The corn died and the rain washed away repeated planting of other seeds. At times all I could see of my garden was a solid lake of water. I should mention that my farm is flat and low. In winter the water level is almost on top of the ground.

The failure of our own garden was balanced somewhat, however, by the comparative success of my tenant's garden. I should explain that I inherited a tenant family with the farm. There seemed to be no reason to dispossess them from the one habitable structure that came with the place, particularly since it was far from a road and too distant from any possible electric line. They really have free rent for the amount of farming done on a tenant basis is negligible and I shall not even gain back what I have spent for seed and fertilizer. However, we get string beans, delicious sweet corn and potatoes from their garden and they take care of the cow we purchased last fall.

Too many decentralist writers minimize the amount of labor required in a decentralist plan. When a writer as persuasive as Ed Robinson of Noroton, Connecticut, in his "Have-More Plan" describes the few chores required every day it all sounds rather easy. My own plan was formulated when I expected to continue teaching and I looked forward to long vacations during which I could do my building and other jobs on the farm. Now that I have abandoned teaching and am working eight hours a day in the city, I find that the number of chores one can take on is strictly limited. Although it may seem to some readers that I am rather too distant from the city, about thirty-six miles, because of conditions in the East, it is often necessary to go this far from the city in order to find land that is not too expensive and that is suitable for decentralized living. It requires from one hour and five to one hour and fifteen minutes to drive to work in the morning. There is no time for any chores before I go. I return in the evening around seven. I carry water from a neighbor's well as I have not yet been able to afford a well of my own, fill the tank reservoir I set up so that Phyllis would not have to carry water during the day. Then I may take advantage of the last hour of daylight to work on the boat or cultivate the garden. Dinner is over around nine, Phyllis then has to wash and prepare for bed Nicky who will be four in October, Lois who will be three, Anton who will be two in December, and then she must sterilize bottles, make formula and feed Stephanie. I have been taking care of the dinner dishes and then every other night I make butter for our own use from our surplus cream. Phyllis must also feed the Beagle hound we acquired from a neighbor and three or four cats. It can be seen that there is

no time for many chores during the week. Taking care of four very small children is almost a fulltime job in itself, particularly when one considers that Phyllis does her own laundry and because of the baby must wash two and three times a week, all without the benefit of hot water or even running water. We heat buckets on a kerosene stove.

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Our main developments along the lines of the productive homestead are in the dairy and poultry activities. In keeping with the excellent advice given in Hightstone's, "Subsistence Farming for Beginners," we made the purchase of a cow the basis of our plan to cut expenses and at the same time to live better in the country. Except just after she had her calf early in the spring, I have not spent a dollar for feed. My average milk and cream bill in the city was \$25.00 a month, our butter ran around \$5.00 more. The 87 percent pure Guernsey cost me \$110.00. It does not take much of a mathematician to figure out how much money we are saving by having a cow. We get all of our butter, cream and milk and the six weeks' old bull calf sold for \$43.00.

Our chickens have not been so successful. However, we have just started. Our flock consists of thirteen year-old chickens purchased from a neighbor at two dollars per chicken. My lumber and fencing for a yard cost about \$15.00. I built a shelter in the yard out of scrap lumber at no cost. The chickens have been moulting and we get only from four to seven eggs a day. Meanwhile the price of feed is almost prohibitive, around \$5.00 a sack. During our first month I estimated that our eggs cost almost as much as if we had purchased them in the store. Of course they were of higher quality. We have two other flocks of chickens growing from two mother hens and their broods of nine chicks each presented to the children by the neighbor from whom we bought the older chickens. Some of these will be ready for eating soon and the pullets will step up our egg production. So far my chicken experience convinces me that there is little real gain in bothering with chickens unless one has enough land and time to raise at least half of his own feed. I am hoping that my share of the corn crop will be adequate to provide feed for the chickens over the winter. In that case they will be a real economic asset. I am also fortunate in having so much range I can use for chickens and other livestock. Phyllis wants to get a few sheep next spring and of course a couple of pigs.

As others have pointed out, with milk, cream, butter, eggs, young chickens for frying, and vegetables from a garden, one can eat rather well without the expenditure of any cash. Recently, after spending our current income for building

improvements we found ourselves forced to stretch a ten dollar bill over a two-week period until the next pay-day. This money had to do not only for groceries but for supplies for the baby, etc. Thanks to our homestead resources we were able to get by rather well. Our big deficiency at present of course is the lack of any meat supply with the exception of chickens. Next year we hope to have both lamb and pork and on a long-range plan we hope to acquire a deep-freezer and eventually have beef too.

Unless I become a little capitalist and hire labor to work the land under my direction, large-scale farming while I hold an eight-hour-day job in the city is out of the question. I am looking into the question of some sort of a light tractor I could use on week-ends or which Phyllis could use during the week after tying up her four children to some convenient fence posts. But I know from my experience of this summer that farming on any scale cannot be conducted solely on week-ends.

The other advantages, above the economic one mentioned above, which we hoped to find in the country, have materialized quite well. We do not have to worry about automobiles running over the children. From pale, anemic children dawdling with their food and unwilling to go to sleep at night, our off-spring have turned into brown little pioneers, busily occupied outdoors all day long, hungry at their meals and sleepy when they are sent to bed. The loneliness of her rural isolation hit Phyllis rather hard during the first two weeks. However, a month ago, a young veteran bought out my nearest neighbor and moved down with his wife and three small children about the same ages as mine. This affords some company for Phyllis. Since our new neighbors are also convinced decentralists and long-time followers of the *Catholic Worker* we have at least the beginnings of some sort of a decentralist community. Apart from the advantages of exchanging equipment, when my neighbor finally acquires an automobile I shall be able to cut in half the present gasoline cost of driving to the city every day.

We have not yet faced squarely the school problem. I personally have such a low opinion of American education and agree to such an extent with Mr. Hutchins's views on the sad state of teaching in this country that we are thinking seriously of teaching our own children as Ralph Borsodi did his some years ago. There is no school within six or eight miles of our place. The nearest church is about eight miles away and completely inadequate to house the numerous summer people who come to Mass. The ultimate goal would be to have a chapel of our own but our location, so desirable from many points of view, is not too well suited for a growing decentralist community because of the predominantly summer resort area surrounding us. Mine was the last

large farm in the area and only last week a real estate company with 55 acres bordering mine has started a large summer home development fronting on my private harbor. Their road-building activities will enhance the value of my land (and also will raise my taxes!) but the type of tracts they will sell will not be calculated to fit the needs of decentralist families but rather to fit those of the summer camper who wants to swim and fish for a few weeks each year. There are still a few two to five-acre tracts of land available, however, so that eventually we may be able to attract a few more families to settle near us and could then develop advantages inherent in community life.

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On the other hand, we are satisfied enough with our original individualist experiment, in spite of its disadvantages, that we would go ahead with our plans even if a community never develops. Perhaps I have concentrated too much on the study of history, in particular, upon the disintegration of civilizations. But I cannot get out of my head the horrible vision of hungry urban mobs roaming the highways searching for food after the next breakdown of our economic system. Nations can decay and die as all history proves and I am fortunate in being situated far from the key highways along which hungry mobs may be

expected to travel. I realize that in any crisis of the nation I shall be called upon to fulfill the responsibilities for which my training and education have fitted me, either in the army or in the government, but it will be some satisfaction for me to know that my family is able to take care of itself and eat even if the machinery of distribution breaks down. Perhaps by that time too my sons will be old enough to help their mother. And if a veritable twilight of civilization develops with the breakdown of government and of law and order, perhaps with my friends, neighbors and tenants I can retreat to our homestead and after carrying out my boyhood dream of building a medieval castle, we can make a final defense of our secluded peninsula. I realize that this all sounds rather desperate, a gloomy prospect to look forward to. But who today can deny categorically or successfully disprove Dorothy Thompson's often repeated statement that our western world is already on the eve of a new Dark Age or has already entered into such a period? It is the part of prudence to prepare for all eventualities that can be foreseen. If our forebodings fail to develop, at least in the meantime our lives have not been wasted and we will have raised a new generation perhaps better endowed to cope with the baffling problems which will confront humanity in the last half of the twentieth century.

Candidate Stassen

M. W. Halloran

THE SINGLE NOTE that more than any other has stood out in the thinking and the performance and the hopes of Harold Stassen with respect to domestic issues has been his passion for peace between labor and management.

From the day when, as a small county prosecutor he launched his first campaign for governor of Minnesota, he has held tenaciously to the notion that the laborer, as represented by his union, and his boss can get along without that warfare known as strikes and lockouts. From the very first, too, he had thought out the methods by which he felt this peace could be attained and maintained.

When he became governor, Stassen had the processes enacted into law. He is entirely sold on the feeling that the processes will work universally, because they have worked amazingly well in Minnesota.

Should Stassen ever become President of the United States, there is no doubt that, next to constructively forwarding the cause of international

peace to which he is supremely devoted, the greatest possible satisfaction he could have would be to see his efforts for labor peace crowned with success.

The keynote of the Stassen program for handling labor difficulties is conciliation, conciliation, ever more conciliation, with "cooling off" periods and constituted authorities representing no interest but the interest of the public ever at hand to aid in the negotiations.

The Stassen labor program has been attacked as too soft and has brought him into conflict with some of the other top men of the Republican Party. It has been one of the numerous things contributing to sharp contrasts between him and others who aspire to the party's 1948 Presidential nomination.

Stassen occupies a peculiar position in the political limelight. As the only avowed candidate for the presidency, he is fair game for everyone. There is no issue he can duck. There is none on which he is not pretty thoroughly committed.

He is fully conscious of the handicaps and advantages, if there be any, of such a position. There is no chance, sitting on a spot like that, to sit back and note the way the wind is blowing politically.

Contrast of the situation with respect to Candidate Stassen and Governor Dewey and Senator Taft, who so far are only candidate-suspects, naturally come to mind.

It is a situation pretty well made to order for Dewey and any other governors who have White House aspirations. It is not so easy for Taft, who not only as a Senator but as the chief policy-making Senator of the majority has to go on record on some ticklish issues.

In any case, the Minnesota man has just about been over the whole political landscape and spoken his views, leaving himself vulnerable to critics on one side and open to praise and argument on the other.

Stassen's views as an internationalist were voiced early. He has been an uncompromising advocate of world government and his expressions on the subject are well known. This should be a good time to set out what he thinks about the more pressing of the domestic issues. Thus:

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1. On Labor, Stassen was dissatisfied with the Taft-Hartley Bill. He regarded it as too harsh, thought it went too far, wore too much the livery of a punitive measure. But, he preferred it to no labor legislation, hence favored overriding President Truman's veto.

In a radio appearance since the veto, Stassen discoursed at length on his conciliation ideas, cited Minnesota statistics to show how they had worked there.

2. On Housing, Stassen as governor, urged the legislature to qualify the state for federal funds under the first housing act. Not until this year, however, when there are no such funds available, did the reluctant legislature finally take Minnesota out of the list of only five states that had failed to qualify.

Stassen has been roundly criticized for not championing this housing legislation with the vigor that marked some of his other demands and which produced the desired results.

3. On FEPC, Stassen has taken a pronounced stand in favor of fair employment legislation, duly deploring discrimination on account of race, creed or color. He was one of the featured speakers at a national council supporting the legislation at Washington in January, 1946.

There was some complaint when he was governor that Stassen did not give Negroes an even chance on the National Guard. He was the non-accessory beneficiary of some racial out-croppings in his first campaign and has very pointedly ig-

nored the author and distributor of the campaign literature involved ever since.

4. On Public Ownership, the Stassen position is important because he has been accused of being a New Dealer in disguise, with implications that he probably favors nationalization of at least some industries.

He has been pretty emphatic in meeting charges of that sort. In his somewhat famous speech before the National Association of Manufacturers in December, 1945, Stassen declared, "I say directly that I do not believe in the nationalization of any industry or commerce or institution."

Obviously with his eye on the Labor government of Great Britain, he added that "there appear to be ample experiments of this type going on in the world now."

It probably would be accurate to say that Stassen's views on most domestic subjects run pretty much along the same channel as those of all but the extreme reactionaries of the Republican Party—and of the Democratic Party, too, for that matter.

He has tried hard, though, to build up liberal thinking in the Republican Party, wants to be known as the liberal leader within that party. And of course that is where he has run into antagonisms from the conservatives, and even from the moderates who suspect him of being a New Dealer at heart.

There are several reasons for this. And the first brings us back to his position on labor. His pacific attitude never made any hit with those public men who want to crack down on labor. They remember, too, that in two of his campaigns in Minnesota he had the support of organized labor, even against the Farmer-Labor nominee.

Secondly, Stassen always fought the old guard in his party. He started in his own state and became the natural enemy of the crew the country over when he put over the nomination of Wendell Willkie for president in 1940.

And, thirdly, President Roosevelt's friendly attitude toward Stassen was the last straw. Stassen felt himself that the late President's appointment of him as one of the American delegates to the San Francisco United Nations conference was a handicap politically.

But still, Stassen has been at pains to keep within Republican bounds and to avoid deserving the brand of a radical.

Dewey's views currently are a matter of speculation. Being a governor and not a member of Congress, or an avowed presidential candidate, he is under no obligation to reveal them. He's under fire from those who like forthrightness and who say that while he may conceal his views he can't conceal his candidacy. But it seems to be good politics.

Stassen is among those who were critical of

Dewey's performance in the 1944 campaign when he out-Roosevelted Roosevelt in going far out for more liberal social security legislation and in his declarations that the Wagner labor law was acceptable. The New Yorker's opinion on the controversial Taft-Hartley Bill, if he has any, have not been made public.

Dewey, however, has a record on FEPC which drew Stassen praise. That was for the state law in New York which the governor championed.

At a pep session of Stassen supporters in the home state a few months ago, one of his admirers got up and told of his experience in trying to sell the Minnesotan to some of the auto industry moguls at Detroit.

"Why the man is a bolshevik," he quoted them as saying.

Stassen came up quickly with his interpretation of the incident. He said the automobile people were angered at his support of the movement to raise funds for families of the industry's strikers. It had nothing to do with the strike, he said. It was an humanitarian act, that seemed to be resented by the employers.

The incident is an illustration of the sort of opposition that has been stirred up against Stassen, and he has felt that it is based on the notion he is too liberal and perhaps too friendly to labor.

He has gone to great lengths to meet such attacks as that at Detroit and to show that on fundamentals he is on the same ground as the average Republican and that he believes thoroughly in the capitalistic system.

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In the NAM speech already quoted, Stassen made his strongest effort to establish his beliefs along this line.

"The great need for the future of mankind," he said, "and the best prospect as I see it for the future of the people of America is for a vigorous demonstration of what freedom can do with individual enterprise, private capital and free workmen."

He went on to say that government should keep hands off—but he said he wanted government to "take affirmative actions which will form a favorable framework and a friendly climate within which the free enterprise system can flourish."

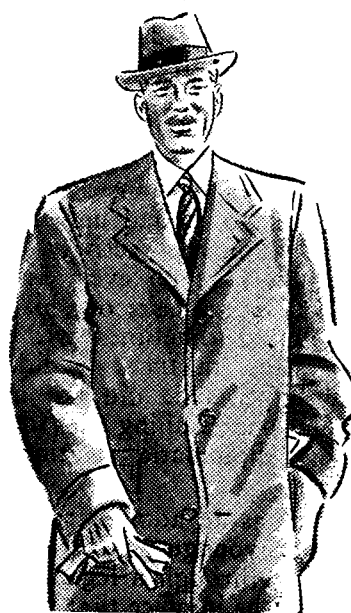
And returning to his favorite subject of labor, Stassen cautioned management "never to forget for a day that labor is not simply a commodity" for "labor is people—men and women—fellow-citizens."

Stassen regards himself as well equipped for the presidency. Else, of course, he would not have taken the unprecedented step of openly announcing his candidacy—and eighteen months before the convention at that.

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He has worked hard to equip himself for the post. And those who have been impressed with the notion that Stassen is the man argue that, more than any other, he possesses the ideal dual requirements: (1) a forward-looking program both on international and domestic issues, a program that is the child of his own thinking and study and observation and, (2) a record as an outstanding administrator.

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Stassen is a man of broad universality of interests, of restless mental activity. He avidly searches for knowledge on every issue that interests mankind. He speaks out his conclusions quickly, unannounced sometimes, without caution, often brashly. For instance, he didn't have to tell his fellow-Baptists he did not at all agree with their resolutions assailing the Administration for maintaining diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

His exhibitions as an administrator have been spectacular. The youngest governor in the nation at 31, he put through a legislative program his first three months in office that had the people of Minnesota gasping, and which brought him immediate national notice. This program included civil service and departmental reorganization with the first "business manager" any state ever had. The business manager sits on the treasury lid—lets not a nickel be spent without the nickel's being in the till and knowing besides why it's to be spent.

He cleaned up Minnesota's Capitol Hill in a hurry, firing holdover appointees of a Farmer-Labor régime that had gone stale and inept and in some corners corrupt.

In his first campaign he'd talked about this labor peace. But one reason the Republicans won in 1938 was because strikers had been openly encouraged by the Farmer-Labor administration and there was statewide hostility to the unions. A rural-dominated legislature was all set to push through punitive measures. One evening the governor called in the leaders, kept them in his office all night—next day it was announced the punitive measures had been scrapped. And the legislature enacted his labor peace bill.

The smart political performance of this big, eloquent Minnesotan has been widely exploited—how he put over a triple play in 1942 maneuvering the elections of Edward J. Thye as lieutenant-governor to succeed himself when he would resign after the four-month legislative session to go into the Navy; and of Joseph Ball, newspaperman whom he had appointed Senator over the heads of scores of old guard aspirants, and of himself to those four months of a third term.

Probably Stassen comes nearer to Vandenberg in his thinking than to any other Republican presi-

dential possibility. Taft and he do not agree on labor. It has been said that if Stassen can't win in 1948, best thing that could happen for him would be for Vandenberg to be President—and make Stassen his secretary of state, secretary of the Armed Forces, or of Labor or of Commerce. There he could demonstrate his great administrative ability, at the same time have ample opportunity to continue in the limelight as an idea man. Vandenberg only wants the presidency one term, if at all. That would leave the field open for Stassen's big chance in 1952—if he can't make it next year.

Communications

IS ENGLAND DYING?

London, England

TO the Editors: I regret very much that I have only just seen Mr. Finney's letter in your issue of August 15th, in which he attempts to justify some of the very grave misrepresentations made in his *Look* article, "Is England Dying?" about the British coal industry, and I ask your indulgence for a further demand on your space.

Mr. Finney tells us (as though we needed any telling) that British coal production has fallen far below British requirements, and that "so far British production has not improved because of nationalization or the recruitment campaign." Mr. Finney obviously does not know what was the main purpose of nationalization. It was to provide the capital to carry out a wholesale reorganization of our entire mining system, a task which at a conservative estimate will take about ten years. How then Mr. Finney can expect to see any marked improvement within a period of six months is difficult to understand.

It is much the same with regard to the effect of recruitment on output. The new recruits (who, it will be remembered, Mr. Finney in his original article said were not coming in at all) consisted very largely of green labor which had to be trained, and as has been most emphatically stated more than once in the House of Commons, no increase of output was to be expected from this source except after a time-lag of many months.

However, Mr. Finney is nothing if not resourceful, and he still has a wallop up his sleeve about these recruits. Having first, as I have just pointed out, denied that recruits were coming in at all, Mr. Finney now tells us that it is very wicked of us to accept them because mechanization will soon make all their jobs redundant. In other words, if we don't go down the mine we are a decaying nation, and if we do go down the mine we are scoundrels and the victims of scoundrels. Really, Mr. Finney is very hard to please.

Of course, Mr. Finney's colossal blunder here again derives from his failure to understand the nature and purpose of the nationalization scheme, or that it is a long-term project. Allowing for the normal rate of wastage, it is safe to say that in ten years half-a-million miners will automatically have left the industry and, that being

so, recruitment will have to continue for a number of years yet if the industry is to be adequately manned when reorganization is complete.

Mr. Finney's next point deals with the alleged "refusal" of British coal owners to reorganize the mines and install modern machinery which I contended was simply due to the fact that "the margin of profit and the degree of security offered were insufficient to have attracted the necessary capital on a commercial basis in any country in the world." Mr. Finney says baldly that my statement is untrue, which can only mean that British capitalists were such a pudding-headed lot that they were blind to a business opening which Mr. Finney is able to discern in retrospect. That seems a very bold assertion, even for Mr. Finney.

Mr. Finney, however, says that my statement is not only untrue but "meaningless, because England, and not any other country in the world, is what's involved." I confess that I have a little difficulty here in following his argument, but what in effect he seems to be saying is this: "British capitalists didn't reorganize the mines because they were too blind to see the profit opportunity in doing so, and anyway, even if there was not a profit opportunity, they ought to have chucked their money away if necessary from patriotic motives, even if it meant losing the lot." In other words, British capitalists should, according to Mr. Finney, have acted as no capitalists in the world have ever acted, and as, according to their own avowed principles, no capitalists *ought* to act.

Finally, Mr. Finney says that my intimation that we did not spend more of the Loan on mining machinery because it was not available for delivery, is false. "The Office of International Trade in the Department of Commerce," he writes, "knows the story of British efforts to get American mining machinery, and that story reflects no credit on the British."

Here Mr. Finney has me at a disadvantage, because not only do I not know what he is talking about but I have not the faintest notion of what he can conceivably have in mind. What on earth is supposed to have happened? Did the Americans come forward offering shiploads of machinery, and did the British negotiators bang the table with their fists and say that they would have nothing but tinned asparagus and pictures of Betty Grable? Were they bribed by the Soviet Union to hurl the machinery back into the Americans' teeth? Until I get more specific information on this point, I prefer to rely on such statements as that made by Mr. Herbert Morrison on July 6th of this year, when he said, "Those who say the loan should have been spent on such items as steel, mining and manufacturing machinery, entirely overlook the supply position in the United States, where these things are almost unobtainable."

There are a great many things wrong with the British coal mining industry, as I have no intention of denying, but they are not the things which Mr. Finney says are wrong, and I still say that Mr. Finney's article in *Look* was grossly misleading and libelous, and that the picture he gave was a travesty of the truth.

J. L. BENVENISTI

The Stage & Screen

The Season

IT WILL BE as well to report something briefly titled "The Magic Touch" as the season's first closing and let it go at that. If there should have been any sane reason for its opening at all, anywhere, it was certainly not discoverable by me, nor, I imagine, by any of the other half-dozen, limp, dazed, embarrassed and just plain mad second-night spectators. However, its program, aside from the listing of a number of hindered actors and wasted technicians, does include a neat statistical survey of coming events by Eugene Burr and I think a few of its announcements, plus some garners of my own, are pretty interesting. Subject, of course, to luck, mishap, miracle, and money, Mr. Burr finds there are 55 new plays scheduled, 12 revivals, 13 importations and 21 musicals. A new Tennessee Williams, a new Van Druten, a new Donald Ogden Stewart, a new Ruth Gordon, are among the stalwarts coming along and, if rumor is worth anything, I imagine the curiosity being reared by Theatre Inc's first native production—Stanley Young's "The Big People", already in rehearsal—is not based on nothing. For the revival end, a production of Joyce's "Exiles" looks like daring business, and together with Katharine Cornell's "Antony and Cleopatra" and Maurice Evans's "Man And Superman" will be presenting writing as well as established playing. I am most of all intrigued by the prospect of "The Heiress", an adaptation of Henry James's "Washington Square" which is to star Wendy Hiller. Miss Hiller is currently making too many faces in a cliché movie called "I Know Where I'm Going", but she is, I think, a good actress and as the whole fascinating and terrible problem of exposition in James must be dependent, I am convinced, upon unlimited nuances of acting, it will be absorbing to watch her job, as well as that of Goodman and Goetz, the adaptors. This, with Judith Anderson in Robinson Jeffers's "Medea" ought to draw serious criticism one way or another. The Rogers-Hammerstein department is already functioning on the road with something gigantic called "Allegro" which, according to Mielziner, its architect, is to display a novel method of fluid design. One hopes this does not signify another "movied" show, although certainly a consciously,

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deliberately "mowed" one would clear the air for the establishment of a number of new terms. In any case, there seems some hope that experiment is edging a little way into the money. And the subscription people, with Lincoln Kirstein promising a new lyric drama plus a good quota of young stuff, and the Experimental Theatre itself listing maybe a Camus, maybe a Lorca, definitely a new Stein, plus a couple of beginning Americans, would seem to be planning intelligently as well as earnestly. In spite of the fact that most of this work is still promises, and in spite of its sad, sordid start, I think it is safe to say there is a Theater season ahead. Surprise, surprise . . .

KAPPO PHELAN.

No Exertion

ONCE in a while even a movie critic likes to relax. And this week your tired critic can slide over three new musical pictures without hardly straining a brain cell.

"*Down to Earth*" is a flashy little item about Terpsichore who is shaken out of her pleasant lethargy in Parnassus when she sees a group of people on a place called Broadway putting on a musical show about the muses. When the Muse of Dance sees herself portrayed as a man-chasing trollop and described as the one who puts the ants in dancers' pants, she becomes highly indignant. She gets permission from Mr. Jordan (Roland Culver) to go down to earth and set things right. Messenger 7013 (Edward Everett Horton) is not very enthusiastic about Terpsichore's project—and perhaps he's correct; for, although Terpsichore cleans up the show after several fights with its director (Larry Parks), it soon resembles a Bach festival, and, as you may imagine, flops with a thud. So Terp relaxes, reinserts the highly suggestive songs and costumes; and then, as you may imagine, it is a tremendous hit. I'm not sure exactly what this story is trying to prove, but in any case, as a movie it provides opportunity for several off-color numbers (and I don't mean the Technicolor which is pretty good). Rita Hayworth as Terpsichore dances with style on earth and elsewhere, and she is well assisted by Marc Platt who portrays a dancer and does a good job of it. When the humor isn't too busily entangled in *double-entendres* it is rather funny. The best of it is handled by James Gleason. And the best of the production numbers is a little honey entitled "People Have More Fun Than Anyone."

You may be surprised to find Betty Grable in a mild and sentimental musical, but she is. "*Mother Wore Tights*" is a nostalgic piece about a vaudeville pair who continued with their act after their children were in school and likely to feel a little strange about a mother and father who worked in the vulgar theater. Except for the fact that this picture is too long and slow in the telling, it is really quite entertaining. Grable as Mother wears tights and is her amiable self; Dan Dailey as Father gives an excellent impersonation of a brash hoofer; and Mona Freeman and Connie Marshall are properly young, impudent and touching as the two daughters. Technicolor is used more as decoration than to assist the picture's moods

and so are the songs which are done only slightly in period. But the events are amusing, and whenever the story gets too sentimental, Dan Dailey's realistic performance puts it back on its feet. Señor Wences's specialty act steals the show.

The story in "*Variety Girl*" almost allowed your relaxed critic to fall asleep, but fortunately the plot is well peppered with lively vaudeville numbers done by the leading players on the Paramount lot. Bob Hope and Bing Crosby go to town in their acts. Alan Ladd, Dorothy Lamour and other stars have fun in theirs by doing out-of-character stunts. And Pearl Bailey, who is on hand for one number, walks away with all honors by singing "Tired." If you can stand the plot, which shows two girls (Mary Hatcher, Olga San Juan) going through many trials in starting their movie careers, you will enjoy the trimmings, particularly if you like to see movie stars playing themselves. As a tale about Hollywood, "*Variety Girl*" should have been much more interesting. If the world's movie capital doesn't understand itself any better than this, it is no wonder that so many mediocre movies are made.

Perhaps March of Time, whose new short "*Is Everybody Listening?*" covers radio rather adroitly, should consider Hollywood as a subject for examination. This M.O.T. does a good once-over-lightly on radio and its conclusion is not very cheering. My favorite shot shows Lee De Forest wondering what happened to his brain child. Of course the commentator admits there are good programs (music, news, Town Hall, etc.) but he deplores, as you probably do too, the soap operas, the audience participation programs, the commercialism and other so-called entertainment that comes over the air. Perhaps listeners deserve what they get, and no doubt M.O.T. is right in saying that Americans, more than any other people, stand most in fear of a moment's silence.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

Books of the Week

The American Imagination at Work: Tall Tales and Folk Tales. Edited by Ben C. Clough. Knopf. \$6.

LET ME SAY at once that this intoxicating book is an anthology; that it runs to 726 pages including the editor's introduction; that the editor is an honest professor at Brown University; and that the reviewer is delighted to be able to record these facts without distorting them. Let me add—still walking the tight-rope of absolute accuracy—that this book is the long-awaited monument to the great American liar.

It's that and something more; for side by side with all these examples of plain and fancy lying, Dr. Clough has also given us pieces that record the real exploits of men and heroes—with obvious boasting, in the case, for example, of Ethan Allen; but with no less obvious modesty in the case of the editor's own grandfather, Capt. Benjamin Clough. The great "true narratives" are represented—tales of discovery, of treasure trove along the Spanish Main, of the wilderness and of the frontier. But here also are the established facts of unsolved murder mysteries and carefully considered theories of what really happened

in the case of the *Marie Celeste*—which was actually, says Dr. Clough, the *MARY Celeste*. And along with these we have T. H. Alexander's version of the plot to kidnap the Kaiser, the stories of ghosts and hangings, the complete history of the Jersey Devil, and—under the heading of "Good Yarns Grow Bigger"—John Hersey's account in the *New Yorker* of Lieut. John Kennedy's struggle to save himself and the few remaining members of his crew after the sinking of his PT boat in the Solomons.

And we also have laid out before us again, in the author's own words, *Rip Van Winkle* and Steve Benet's *The Devil and Daniel Webster*, along with sundry pickings from the works of Mark Twain and Joel Chandler Harris. These, presumably, fall under the heading of folk tales and their presence here, no doubt, is justified. But it does bring up a question, whether Dr. Clough, who began with an excellent idea, did not go looking for his materials too exclusively in books; and whether he might not have done better, in his quest for folk tales, to have fallen back upon such writers as our own Tom Lyons of *The Commonwealth*. There is nothing here, alas, that of its kind is quite so good as Lyons's delving into the memory of men who were in Dakota Territory before the arrival of the Sioux.

But the folk tales, after all, are secondary, and the bulk of Dr. Clough's anthology is composed of the tall tales. Indeed, he strikes his topic at once when he sets forth upon the very title page of his book a tale complete in itself:

Police court judge to voluble drunk: Is this true?

Drunk: Well, judge, it's kinda true.

The drunk is typical of all our great liars, who were and are great precisely because their most outrageous fabrications are nevertheless just close enough to reality to be "kinda true."

As a nation, we ought to be proud of them; certainly we've never been without them. The first, it would appear, was—of all people—Cotton Mather, who at the very dawning of New England wrote of stone-throwing devils and two-headed snakes. And after him they stride in ever-increasing numbers down the whole corridor of our history—and impart to our history, no doubt, some of its most human aspects. At home, and busy, in every era, as Dr. Clough points out in his excellent introduction, they are immortal.

Outwardly, perhaps, they differ from place to place, and Maine, it would appear, has her own special breed, somewhat milder than the rest. Thus, in a passage quoted from John Gould, we meet the Maine farmer from twenty miles inland who, brooding over a many days' downpour of rain, announced prosaically: "Got a sea serpent in my pasture." "A big one?" Gould asked. And without a trace of a smile the farmer answered: "Not awful big, but pretty-colored. He's green and orange, with butter-colored spots." In all his life, we are told, this man was never known to utter an untruth; but he was, of course, a Maine man, and all *real* Maine people, according to Gould, are natural-born liars. And so we conclude that the story of the sea serpent was never intended to deceive, but—taken with the usual trade discount—was meant only to convey the information that the man's field was flooded deep enough for the next thing short of a whale to swim in. It was his way of dramatizing the basic fact. It was, according to Gould, "the most artistic way he knows of to tell the truth."

Perhaps as many as 200 pieces fill this anthology—

which most woefully needs an index; but which is likely just the same to become a source book for many a writer, or even to let loose the avalanche of a new literary movement: a kind of turning back to what is, after all, the *leitmotiv* of all our history, not vicious lying but the exuberant gasconading of great-hearted, healthy-minded men.

DAVID MARSHALL.

Difficult Star. Katherine Burton. Longmans. \$2.75.

THIS BOOK is sub-titled "The Story of Pauline Jaricot," and so falls into the category of biography. To-day, if the subject of a biography is not sufficiently pointed-up and high-lighted to stand out well from a tersely sketched historical background and to tower over his or her works—to be a character, in other words—the reader is disappointed; no matter how important the accomplishments of an individual, the person must predominate. Pauline Jaricot, as described in these pages, is not vivid, and the trouble seems to lie largely in the fact that her portrait is drawn not from primary historical documents: letters, journals, contemporary memoirs, but from other biographies; and it blurs. Anyone who has attempted to chronicle the life of a holy person knows how deadening is the welter of edifying material in the lives one must read in preparation, and, how, unless one gets to refreshing sources, one unconsciously imitates the tiresome phraseology. One feels that this has happened to Miss Burton, who displayed her ability in character drawing in her account of Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, "Sorrow Built A Bridge."

But the author was undoubtedly handicapped by the fact that Pauline Jaricot, foundress of the Living Rosary, and now usually credited with being the foundress of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, burned many of the letters she received, and probably also by the fact that World War II has made original research in France almost impossible. And, although one never really sees Pauline Jaricot save once in her early womanhood, when, sitting by the fire, close to her family playing whist, she seized a score pad and pencil and set down her scheme of *dixaines* (the plan for raising money still employed by the Propagation of the Faith) one does come to know her spirit. And her later years, when, having been defrauded of a fortune which she planned to devote to a model village for Catholic laborers, and of money lent her for the project, she spent every ounce of her energy to repay the creditors, are most sympathetically described: occasionally, in the latter part of the book, the real Pauline, old, stout, dropsical, seems alive.

D. H. M.

Survey of Labor Economics. Florence Peterson. Harper. \$4.00

FLORENCE PETERSON is rapidly becoming a one-author bibliography that can satisfactorily be offered novices who are in quest of a reliable guide to "Labor." Her previous books, "American Labor Unions" and "Handbook of Labor Unions," both won well-merited praise as impressive compilations of relevant facts. In this volume, her more ambitious survey is intended as a study of labor as "one special field of economics" (her designation) rather than analysis of "pathological phenomena." And with her customary and happy need for comprehensiveness, the author begins with Malthus and concludes with a discussion of prospects for new laws in health and disability insurance. Her journey includes examination of

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such territory as labor productivity, unemployment and theories of unemployment, problems and backgrounds of collective bargaining, union structures and internal government, and many other study areas in her twenty-seven long chapters. One thing is certain. The reader in search of important facts in massive doses will not be disappointed.

But the reader who views this factual panorama in a manner other than that of a gigantic box of bonbons to be dipped into occasionally is apt not to be without regret. Encyclopedic comprehensiveness, for all its virtues, is not without its faults. It allows for inclusion of much and for special study of little. Perhaps the greatest lack in this volume (although the author may argue, I believe erroneously, that such material does not belong in a "survey") is the absence of adequate exposition of the theoretical views of many important economists and economic schools. There is no satisfactory statement, let alone critical analysis, of the relevant views of Marx and "Marxism," to cite one example. The novice in economics, anxious to know in meaningful terms what Keynes or Veblen and many others taught, will not find such understanding in this book. What theoretical resums are included are cursory and slight and hardly summary in an over-all sense.

In addition, the reader, perhaps unjustly, is apt to feel that the author is excessively, if silently, conscious of the varied opinions of academicians who will have to pass on this book if it is to be used widely in colleges. For such a purpose material presented with an eye to the lowest common denominator as regards conflicting opinions infrequently results in the highest possible clarity. Neutrality is not always synonymous with objectivity. The genre the author has chosen is mostly that of economic reporting and while such an approach is important for such a work, a more basic, critical and integrated analysis is much more important. Too many readers are apt to find that they have been presented with a forest of facts and that they now need an evaluative guide.

Nevertheless, because of the great factual terrain this book covers, it merits strong recommendation. Its unique function is that it is of use to both introductory students and to those in the field who sometimes need to nail down a specific and elusive fact in a hurry. This volume will fit well on your shelves between two recent books, Charles Gregory's "Labor and the Law," and the Twentieth Century Fund's "America's Needs and Resources."

JULIEN STEINBERG.

Two Blades of Grass. T. Swann Harding. University of Oklahoma. \$3.50.

THREE-QUARTERS of a century of the impressive scientific studies of the United States Department of Agriculture is the fascinating subject of this book. It is crammed with names, experiments, pests and blights and incidents long since relegated to department files. Half-tones of early scientific pioneers are of considerable charm. The author manifests an encyclopedic grasp of the scientific activities of the Department, with which he has long been associated, and also of a wide range of subjects such as soils, weather, breeds of sheep and cattle, entomology, wildlife, the protection afforded by the Food and Drug laws, etc. It is reassuring to learn how greatly expanded are the studies carried on in the general public interest. The Department may be charged with favoring the larger farm operators, but the useful material it has made available to all is of incalculable value.

The Inner Forum

The Young Christian Seafarers of France

PETER F. ANSON

IN COMPARISON with the *Jocistes* the maritime section of this organization has received little publicity. The *Jeunesse Maritime Chrétienne*, better known as JMC, was launched by Père Lebret, O.P., an ex-lieutenant of the French Navy, shortly after a Sea Apostolate Congress at Boulogne-sur-Mer in September, 1929. This dynamic Dominican had come to the conclusion that the only way to deal with the spiritual and social problems of seafarers was by means of Catholic Action as defined by Pope Pius XI. *Seafarers must be trained as apostles of seafarers.* In collaboration with the abbé G. Havard of Saint-Malo, Père Lebret drew up the statutes of a new organization, based on those of the *Jocistes*, or Young Christian Workers. Cardinal Charost, archbishop of Rennes, granted his blessing, and within a few months of the Boulogne Congress, the first group of the JMC had been formed on a lonely island off the coast of Finistère, most of the inhabitants being fishermen. Within less than a year groups had been established in many other parishes on the coasts of Brittany, Normandy, the Côtes-du-Nord, and elsewhere in France.

The objectives of the JMC are: (1) the religious education of young seamen; (2) Catholic Action ashore and afloat. Membership includes lads who intend to go to sea; those who are serving in nautical schools or training ships; and all other seafarers up to the age of twenty-five. It is essentially a mass movement. Yet there have to be zealous promoters, young seamen whose whole aim is to win their shipmates to the service of Christ. It functions by means of groups, which are established in parishes, training ships, in ports and on board larger ships of the Mercantile Marine and Navy. The whole organization is directed by a Chaplain-General, whose headquarters are at 12 rue Duguay-Trouin, Paris. Here are edited and published three monthly magazines. *Jeunesse Maritime* is a lively affair, full of bright and breezy articles on religion, sport, hygiene, the latest films, social and economic problems of maritime life and much else besides. The illustrations are always well chosen and of a high standard. *En Route* is intended for the inner circle, i.e., the young promoters of JMC. The boys are not forgotten. They have their own monthly—*Pousse au Large*—just the sort of paper that would appeal to any youngster.

The spirit of the JMC is summed up as follows: "The young Christian seafarer (1) loves his job; (2) does his duty; (3) serves his shipmates; (4) brings them to Christ." It is this insistence that a seaman must know and love his job that is so constantly stressed in the publications of the organization. The pamphlet "*Sois fier de ton métier*" is written so persuasively that it would be enough to make any boy want to go to sea. If any young sailor were to find time to read all the books recommended in another pamphlet entitled "*Pour bâtir la JMC*" he would be fully capable of holding his own with an anti-clerical or communist shipmate on theology, navigation, liturgy,

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maritime economics, venereal diseases, and many other subjects! There are several other useful pamphlets dealing with life in the merchant navy and deep-sea and coastal fisheries. Elsewhere we find practical advice on marriage and family life. The spiritual life of seafarer is catered for in numerous publications. "*Le Christ et les marins*" consists of devotional readings on Our Lord's dealings with His fishermen apostles, and other chapters cover references to the sea and ships found in the "Acts of the Apostles." As in practically all JMC literature, this book contains questions for the use of study-circles. Cardinal Roques, the present archbishop of Rennes, had every reason to describe "*Le Livre de Prières du Marin*" as "the veritable seafarers' *paroissien*" in the foreword he contributed to this amazingly comprehensive volume issued quite recently. The whole book is based on strongly liturgical lines. The dialogue form of Mass is taken for granted. There is a form of Sung Mass with musical notation, and the tunes of most of the many *cantiques* familiar to most French sailors are also given. We come across liturgical blessings of the sea and ships, and particular devotions to maritime saints.

The methods employed by the leaders of the JMC for the religious, moral and intellectual formation of members consist of study circles, retreats, recollection-days, pilgrimages, and the circulation of books. The spiritual formation is directed by chaplains, federal and local. The so-called "*Journées Maritimes*" hold an important place in JMC activities. When as many as four hundred young seamen arrive in a town or village to spend the day in an intensive study of religious and social problems, concluding with Vespers with Benediction in the parish church, a definite result may be expected. Today there is a branch of the JMC in almost every French port. Sailors' clubs have been established in some of them.

Perhaps the most significant development of the Sea Apostolate in France is the decision of the bishops to establish a central bureau for work among the Merchant Navy and Fisheries. Cardinal Roques, Archbishop of Rennes, was nominated Chaplain-General, with two Vicars-General to assist him—one for the Merchant Navy, the other for fishermen. It has also been arranged that seminarists and newly ordained priests can be given special training for work among seafarers. This will involve going to sea as deck-hands, cabin-boys, stewards, etc., so as to familiarize these young clerics with the peculiar conditions of maritime life. After such specialized formation, priests will live in community in ports, and carry on their Catholic Action. Such is the way in which the far-seeing and logically minded French bishops have resolved to tackle the spiritual, social and moral welfare of their seafaring sons.

CONTRIBUTORS

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